

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
9 December 1971

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Pakistan's Capability to Capture and
Hold Sections of Indian Kashmir

1. The Pakistanis could occupy key areas of Indian Kashmir, but their ability to hold such territory for any extended period of time in the face of probably increased Indian resistance is questionable.

2. The Indian forces in northwest India and Kashmir are about equal in size to the Pakistani forces opposite them, have more equipment than the Pakistanis, and are at least as capable of operating this equipment as are the Pakistanis. West Pakistan has some 100,000 troops facing an Indian force of about 90,000 in the Kashmir area. Along the border below the Kashmir area the Indians have deployed about 180,000 troops against a Pakistani force of some 86,000.

3. Although Islamabad already has made some incursions into Indian Kashmir--up to five miles in some places--Pakistani forces will continue to meet stiffening Indian resistance and the going will be slow.

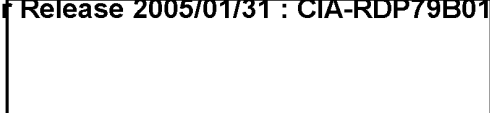
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Note: This memorandum was prepared by CIA and coordinated with DIA.

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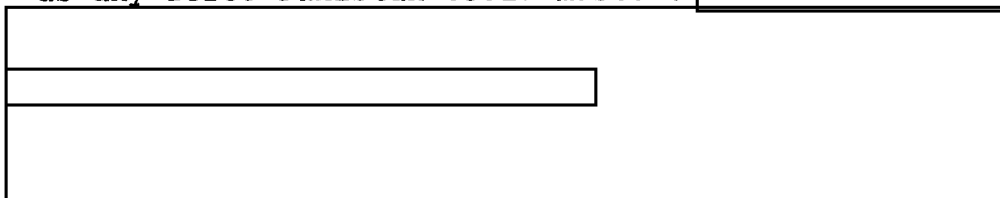
4. The Pakistanis claim to have captured the Indian town of Chhamb and to have bypassed Poonch. India admits to losing Chhamb. The ultimate objective of the Pakistani drive on Chhamb probably is to capture Jammu in order to isolate the Indian forces further to the north in Kashmir.

5. Pakistan's larger objective in the west is territorial gain in the disputed Kashmir area for use as a bargaining point against Indian gains in East Pakistan or as a trade-off in the event East Pakistan is lost. The success of this strategy, however, would require that Pakistani forces not only capture important segments of Kashmir, but be able to hold such gains for an extended period, and at the same time defend against a possible Indian attack on a major Pakistani city. Mrs. Gandhi has explained that although Indian strategy presently focuses on ridding East Pakistan of West Pakistani elements, as soon as this is finished New Delhi will turn its full attention to its western front. Indian officials add that India has no intention of allowing the Pakistanis to retain any gains they might make along India's western border, and that India will fight until the boundary in Kashmir is straightened out to its satisfaction.

6. The Indians are capable of reinforcing their forces in the Kashmir area while the Pakistanis cannot. Following termination of Pakistani resistance in East Pakistan, India could assemble a ground force in that area at least twice as large as any force Pakistan could muster.

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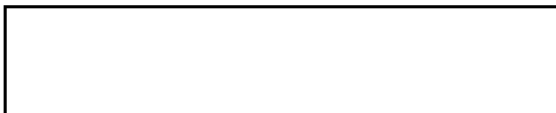
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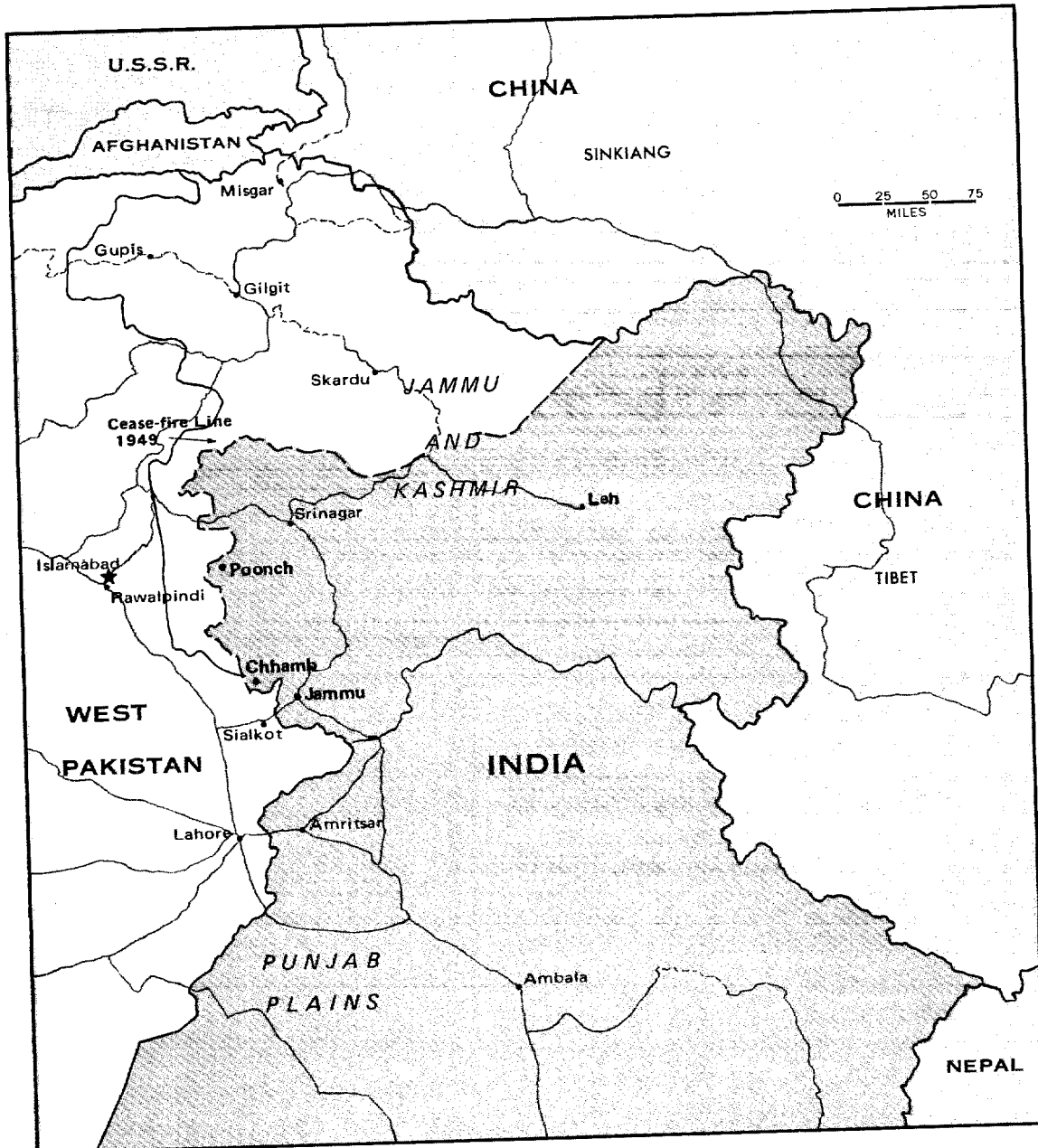
7. New Delhi probably will be able to prosecute its war strategy, inasmuch as India seems unlikely to accede to a cessation of hostilities until it decides that it has achieved sufficient success, or that it no longer can continue the war.

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Critical to India's willingness to accept a cease-fire is attainment of its goals in East Pakistan and the clearing of Pakistani troops from any territory claimed by India in the west.

8. The longer the war wears on, however, the more difficult it will be for both sides to continue. Maintaining large numbers of troops and their equipment in the field, replenishing supplies and lost equipment, and sustaining adequate flows of POL and ammunition are problems that both sides will find increasingly difficult. These problems, however, are likely to become more acute for the Pakistanis sooner than for India, and New Delhi seems more likely to outlast Pakistan on the western front.



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